

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 TRSE-00
ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-11 /110 W
-----023689 190021Z /62

O 190001Z MAY 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1444
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02024

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: DRAFT MESSAGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

REF: USUN 2011

1. CONTACT GROUP AGREED MAY 18 ON DRAFT MESSAGE FROM
THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FIVE TO SOUTH AFRICA. AS
STATED REFTEL, IT IS STILL GROUP'S BELIEF THAT THE
MESSAGE SHOULD BE DELIVERED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BY THE
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CAPE TOWN FIVE TO VORSTER PERSONALLY. TEXT
OF DRAFT MESSAGE AND CONTINGENCY TALKING POINTS
CONTAINED PARA 3 BELOW.

2. GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED PROPOSED TRIP BY AMBASSADOR
MCHENRY TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. BRITISH CONTINUED TO
BE HESITANT ABOUT A SOLO TRIP BY MCHENRY ON BEHALF OF

FIVE BUT HAD NO OBJECTION TO HIS MAKING TRIP ON BEHALF OF UNITED STATES. GERMANS EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT HE SHOULD MAKE TRIP AS REPRESENTATIVE OF U.S., AND CANADA AND FRANCE AGREED. IN CONSULTATION WITH DEPARTMENT, WE EXPECT TO MAKE DECISION ON TRIP TOMORROW (MAY 19).

3. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT MESSAGE:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA, FRANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE SPARED NO EFFORT OVER THE LAST FIFTEEN MONTHS TO SEEK INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE MEANS TO BRING NAMIBIA TO INDEPENDENCE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. THEIR PROPOSAL OF MARCH 30 LAST CONTINUES TO REPRESENT IN THEIR EYES THE ONLY PRACTICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS WELCOMED SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THAT PROPOSAL ON APRIL 25 AND UNTIL MAY 4 HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT AFRICAN AND SWAPO ACCEPTANCE WOULD SOON BE FORTHCOMING. UNFORTUNATELY, THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID ON CASSINGA, ON WHICH THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED THEIR VIEWS, HAS CAUSED A SERIOUS SETBACK TO THEIR EFFORTS AND HAS RESULTED IN AN UNAVOIDABLE DELAY IN THE ENTIRE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.
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2. THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS MUST RECALL THAT THEY HAVE REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE NEED FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO UNDERTAKE NO ACTION INCOMPATIBLE WITH ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL AND, IN FACT, TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS TO HELP CREATE A CLIMATE OF TRUST. THE ACTION AGAINST CASSINGA HAS CERTAINLY RAISED IN MANY QUARTERS SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S REAL INTENTIONS AND ADDITIONAL TIME WILL NOW BE REQUIRED TO REESTABLISH THE CONFIDENCE THAT IS NEEDED TO HAVE THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED. THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PROMOTING THE EARLY REALIZATION OF THIS OBJECTIVE.

3. HOWEVER, THE TASK OF THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE SERIOUSLY HAMPERED WERE SOUTH AFRICA'S MOST RECENT SUGGESTION TO START REGISTERING VOTERS IN NAMIBIA TO BE IMPLEMENTED. SUCH ACTION WOULD, ON THE ONE HAND, TEND TO CONFIRM THE FEELINGS OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE AN UNILATERAL AND, THEREFORE, INTERNATIONALLY UNACCEPTABLE SOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD BE REGARDED BY ALL,

INCLUDING THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS, AS A ONE-SIDED STEP CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF A VITAL PROVISION OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH SOUTH AFRICA HAS ACCEPTED. REGISTRATION OF NAMIBIAN VOTERS IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WITH WHICH THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED AND, INDEED, WITH WHICH HE MUST BE FULLY SATISFIED. NO MATTER HOW IMPARTIALLY THE PROPOSED SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION MIGHT BE CARRIED OUT, THE ABSENCE OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE -- AND THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF SECURING HIS PRESENCE AT THIS STAGE -- WILL NOT ONLY INVALIDATE THE ENTIRE OPERATION BUT WILL ALSO PUT IN JEOPARDY ALL EFFORTS AT CONVINCING THE INTERNATIONAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02024

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

COMMUNITY OF THE VALIDITY AND PRACTICABILITY OF THE PROPOSAL.

4. THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS, THEREFORE, URGE THE SOUTH

AFRICAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO IMPLEMENT ITS CONTEMPLATED ACTION AS IT WOULD CLEARLY BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROPOSAL AND WOULD SERIOUSLY COMPLICATE THE EFFORTS THEY ARE NOW UNDERTAKING. THE URGENCY TO BRING NAMIBIA TO INDEPENDENCE AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IS RECOGNIZED, BUT THERE IS NO ACCEPTABLE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE INTER-
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NATIONAL PROCESS ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSAL. THERE ARE, TO BE SURE, OTHER MEASURES WHICH SOUTH AFRICA COULD TAKE IMMEDIATELY AND WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE POSITIVE STEPS TO HELP CREATE A CLIMATE OF TRUST. THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS WOULD CERTAINLY WELCOME SUCH STEPS.

END TEXT OF MESSAGE.

5. CONTINGENCY TALKING POINTS TO BE USED IN RESPONSE TO ANTICIPATED QUESTIONS, OR COMMENTS, FROM VORSTER:

(1) IF VORSTER EMBARKS ON A JUSTIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RAID ON CASSINGA, OR CHALLENGES THE FIVE'S RESPONSES TO IT, CAPE TOWN FIVE SHOULD REITERATE POINTS MADE IN RECENT JOINT DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON THE SUBJECT.

(2) IF VORSTER CHALLENGES THE FIVE CATEGORIZATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTENTION TO START REGISTERING VOTERS IN NAMIBIA AS A STEP "CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT AND LETTER" OF A VITAL PROVISION OF THE FIVE PROPOSAL, FIVE SHOULD REFER HIM TO PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6 OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH INDICATE THAT AS A CONDITION TO THE CONDUCT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST "SATISFY HIMSELF AT EACH STAGE AS TO THE FAIRNESS AND APPROPRIATENESS OF ALL MEASURES AFFECTING THE POLITICAL PROCESS... BEFORE SUCH MEASURES TAKE EFFECT". ACTIONS OF THE NATURE ENVISAGED BY SOUTH AFRICA, NATURALLY, ARE A PART OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS DEALT WITH IN PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6.

(3) WHAT DO THE FIVE MEAN BY "OTHER MEASURES" WHICH SOUTH AFRICA COULD TAKE IMMEDIATELY AND WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE POSITIVE STEPS TO HELP CREATE A
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CLIMATE OF TRUST?-

(A) THE FIVE HAVE IN MIND MEASURES OF THE

KIND ENVISAGED IN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 11 OF
RESOLUTION 385.

(B) ACTIONS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN
TOWARDS THE ABOLITION OF ALL RACIALLY DISCRIMINATORY
AND POLITICALLY REPRESSIVE LAWS AND PRACTICES HELP
TO ENCOURAGE THE CLIMATE OF TRUST WHICH WE FEEL
MUST BE CREATED IN ORDER TO BRING A SUCCESSFUL
CONCLUSION TOO THE EXERCISE.

(C) THESE HAVE BEEN WELCOMED IN ALL QUARTERS.

(D) ON THE OTHER HAND, CERTAIN MEASURES WHICH
HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY THE ADMINISTRATOR-
GENERAL, INCLUDING THE DETENTION OF NAMIBIANS UNDER
AGE 26, HAVE WORKED IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION.
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